

First Conjunct Agreement:

- (1) *mfa* *ʔumar w-ʔali*
left.3MSG Omar and-Ali
Omar and Ali left. (Moroccan: Aoun et al. 1994:207)

Puzzles

The gender-matching requirement

- (2) a. {ʔe:t / ʔe:w} Rainia_F w-ʔAzza_F mabʔað^ʔ-hom
{came.3FSG / came.3PL} R. and-A. together-3PL.CL
Rania and Azza came together.
b. {ʔe:t / ʔe:w} Rainia_F w-Se:mi_M mabʔað^ʔ-hom
{*came.3FSG / came.3PL} R. and-S. together-3PL.CL
Rania and Sami came together.
(Supporting experimental data from Lebanese in Lorimor 2007)

Pronouns lift the requirement

- (3) {ʔe:t / ʔe:w} hijja w-Se:mi_M mabʔað^ʔ-hom
{came.3FSG / came.3PL} she and-S. together-3PL.CL
She and Sami came together.

Claims

- ✓ FCA in Tunisian never involves direct agreement with the first conjunct.
- ✓ When the first conjunct is a DP, FCA arises illusorily as the result of matching features from both conjuncts percolating to the &P level.
- ✓ When the first conjunct is a pronoun, the verb agrees with a BROAD SUBJECT binding that pronoun.

Agreement is with &P, not the first conjunct

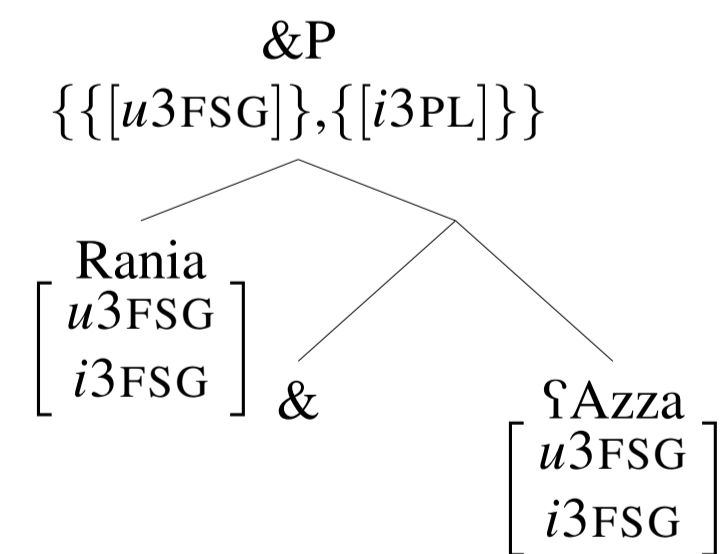
Feature Percolation to &P

(Adamson and Anagnostopoulou, submitted; Adamson, accepted)

- ★ Interpretable and uninterpretable features percolate from conjuncts to &P.
- ★ Only interpretable features undergo resolution (resolution = semantic process, cf. Grosz 2015).
- ★ Only uninterpretable features are visible at PF (Smith 2015).

Same-gender nouns lead to illusory FCA

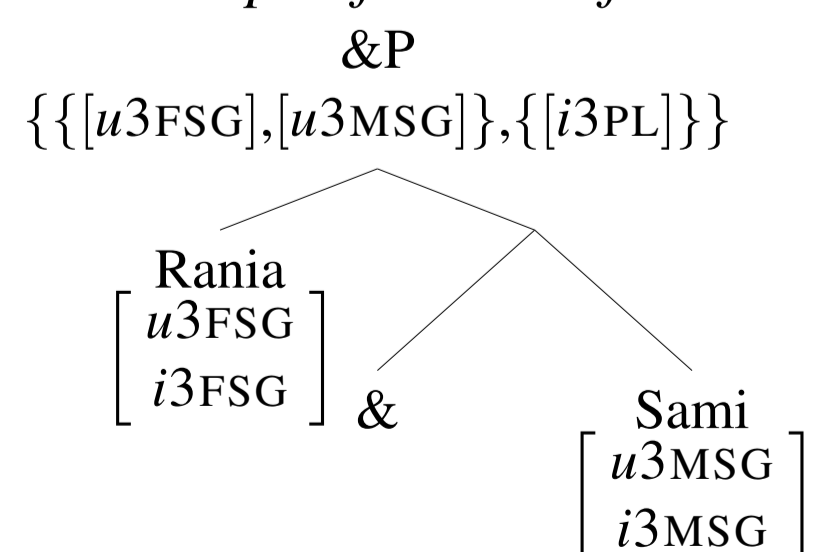
- (4) Feature specification of &P with conjuncts matching in gender



→ Successful Vocabulary Insertion at the probe.

The gender-matching requirement is caused by a clash at PF

- (5) Feature specification of &P with conjuncts mismatching in gender



→ Morphological ineffability at the probe.

(Asarina 2011:9–12; Bjorkman 2016:74; Coon and Keine 2021:687–8)

FCA with pronouns = Agreement with Broad Subject

Optionality in (3) is due to two underlying structures

- (6) *pro_i* ʔe:t hijja_i w-Se:mi
pro_{B,S} came.3FSG she and-S.
She and Sami came.
(7) ʔe:w [&P hijja w-Se:mi]_{φ3PL}
came.3PL she and-S.
She and Sami came.

Properties of Broad Subjects

- ★ Pronouns license Broad Subjects (Doron and Heycock 1999; Yoon 2015)

- (8) *Rania* ʔʔar*(-ha) t^ʔwi:l
R. hair*(-3FSG.CL) long
broad S. *sentential predicate*
Rania has long hair. (lit. ‘Rania her hair long.’)

- ★ Broad Subjects can trigger agreement (Aoun et al. 2010:231)

- (9) *Rania* {ke:nət / ke:n} ʔʔar-ha t^ʔwi:l
R. {was.3FSG / was.3MSG} hair-3FSG.CL long.MSG
Rania had long hair.

Claim: Agreement between AUX and BROAD SUBJECT shows that the latter is not a dislocated element, which can’t trigger agreement (pace Landau 2009, 2011; Alqami and Alanazi 2023).

- ★ Broad Subjects can only be merged in sentences containing a co-referential pronoun

- (10) *Rania* {ʔe:t / *ʔe:w} hijja_i w-Se:mi
R. {came.3FSG / *came.3PL} she and-S.
Rania and Sami came. (lit. ‘Rania came she and Sami.’)

- (11) **Rania*_i ʔe:t Rania_i w-Se:mi
R. came.3FSG R. and-S.

Additional Evidence: Sandwiched Agreement

- (12) Lexical DPs and pronouns behave differently in sandwiched configurations

- a. {*ke:nət / ke:nu} Rania_F w-ʔAzza_F iʔi:w l-əl-fa:k koll nhar:
{*was.3FSG / were.3PL} R. and-A. come.3PL to-DEF-university every day
Rania and Azza used to come to campus every day.

- b. {ke:nət / ke:nu} hijja w-ʔAzza iʔi:w l-əl-fa:k koll nhar:
{was.3FSG / were.3PL} she and-A. come.3PL to-DEF-university every day
She and Azza used to come to campus every day.

- (13) Broad subject can be merged onto (12b) and forces agreement with itself

- Rania*_i {ke:nət / *ke:nu} hijja_i w-ʔAzza iʔi:w l-əl-fa:k koll nhar:
R. {was.3FSG / were.3PL} she and-A. come.3PL to-DEF-university every day
Rania, she and Azza used to come to campus every day. (cf. Aoun et al. 1994:209, ex (31))

- (14) Two underlying structures for (12b)

- a. *pro_i* ke:nət [&P hijja_i w-ʔAzza]_{φ3PL} iʔi:w l-əl-fa:k koll nhar:
pro_{B,S} was.3FSG she and-A. come.3PL to-DEF-university every day

- b. ke:nu [&P hijja_i w-ʔAzza]_{φ3PL} iʔi:w l-əl-fa:k koll nhar:
were.3PL she and-A. come.3PL to-DEF-university every day
She and Azza used to come to campus every day.

- (15) Only one underlying structure for (12a)

- ke:nu [&P Rania_F w-ʔAzza_F]_{φ3PL} iʔi:w l-əl-fa:k koll nhar:
were.3PL R. and-A. come.3PL to-DEF-university every day
Rania and Azza used to come to campus every day.

Outstanding issues: • Crucial order of conjuncts: Broad Subjects cannot be resumed by pronominal second conjuncts. This order is not crucial for left-peripheral elements. • Elusive properties of Broad Subjects: The existence of a pronominal variable is a necessary but not sufficient condition (cf. Yoon’s (2009) ‘characteristic property’ for Korean major subjects).

Select References: Adamson L. accepted. *Split Coordination with Adjectives in Italian*; Adamson L. & Anagnostopoulou E. submitted. *Gender Features and Coordination Resolution in Greek*; Asarina A. 2011. *Neutrality vs. Ambiguity in Resolution by Syncretism*; Aoun et al. 1994. *Agreement, Word order, and Conjunction*; Bjorkman B. 2016. *Go get, come see: Morphological Restrictions and Syncretism*; Buring D. 2005. *Binding Theory*; Coon J. & Keine S. 2021. *Feature Gluttony*; Doron E. & Heycock C. 1999. *Filling and Licensing Multiple Specifiers*; Hewett M. 2023a. *Types of Resumptive A-dependencies*; —2023b. *A-Resumption in Arabic*; Kratzer A. 2009. *Making a Pronoun*; Landau I. 2009. *Against Broad Subjects in Hebrew*; Lorimor H. 2007. *Conjunction and Grammatical Agreement*; Rezac M. 2011. *Building and Interpreting Nonthematic A-Positions*; Smith P. 2015. *Feature Mismatches*; Yoon J. 2015. *Double Nominative and Double Accusative Constructions*.

How the Broad Subject triggers agreement

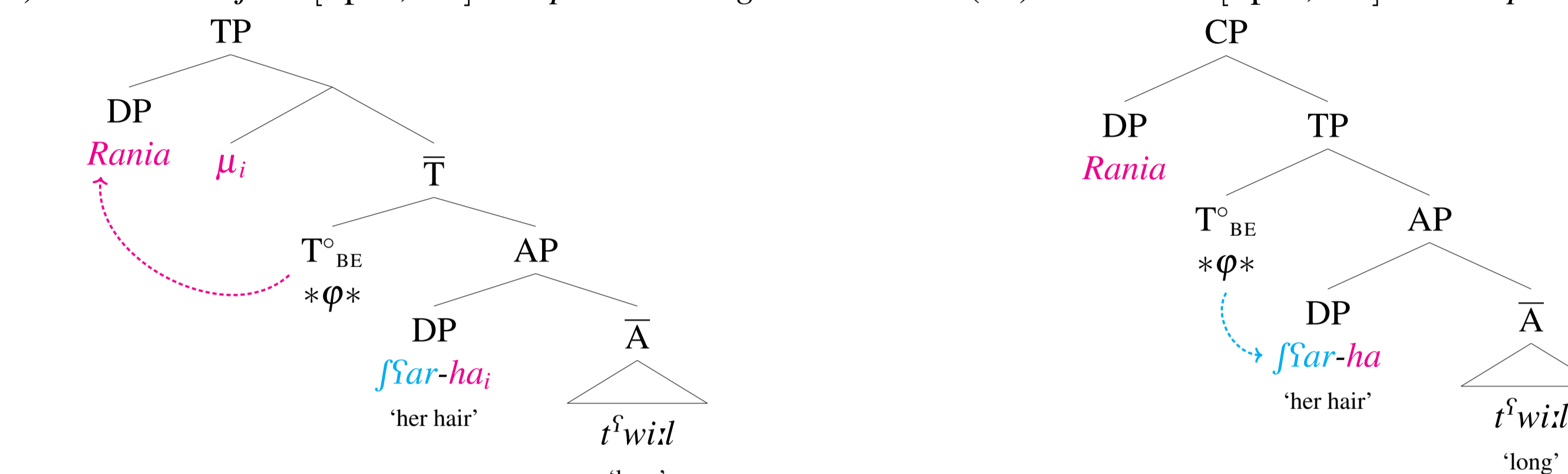
Proposal: Broad subjects are base-generated in specifiers of φ-probes and bind a resumptive pronoun via a μ Binder Prefix (Buring 2005; Hewett 2023a, 2023b), triggering Predicate Abstraction (Heim and Kratzer 1998).

Specifier-Head agreement under Binding (Kratzer 2009:196)

When a DP occupies the specifier position of a head that carries a λ-operator, their φ-feature sets unify.

→ Application on (8):

- (16) Broad Subj. in [Spec, TP] → Spec-Head Agreement (17) CLLD in [Spec, CP] → no Spec-Head Agreement



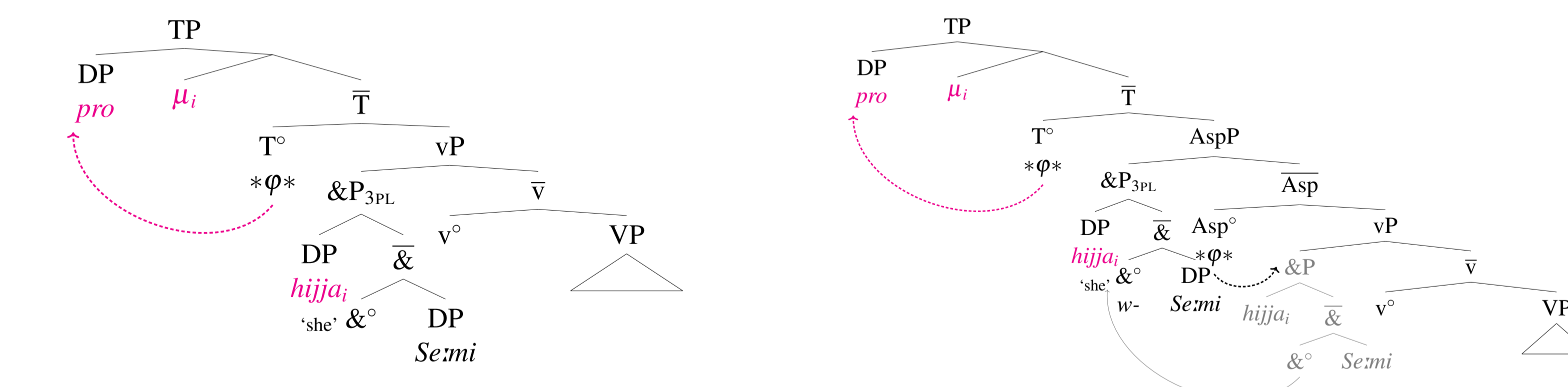
Prediction → Locality of Broad Subject to φ-probe: No Broad Subject if thematic subject moves to [Spec, TP].

- (18) [_{CP} *Rania* [_{TP} ʔʔar-ha {*ke:nət / ke:n} [_{AP} <ʔʔar-ha> t^ʔwi:l]]]
R. hair-3FSG.CL {was.3FSG / was.3MSG} <hair-3FSG.CL> long
Rania’s hair was long.

Patterns of agreement with and without Broad Subjects

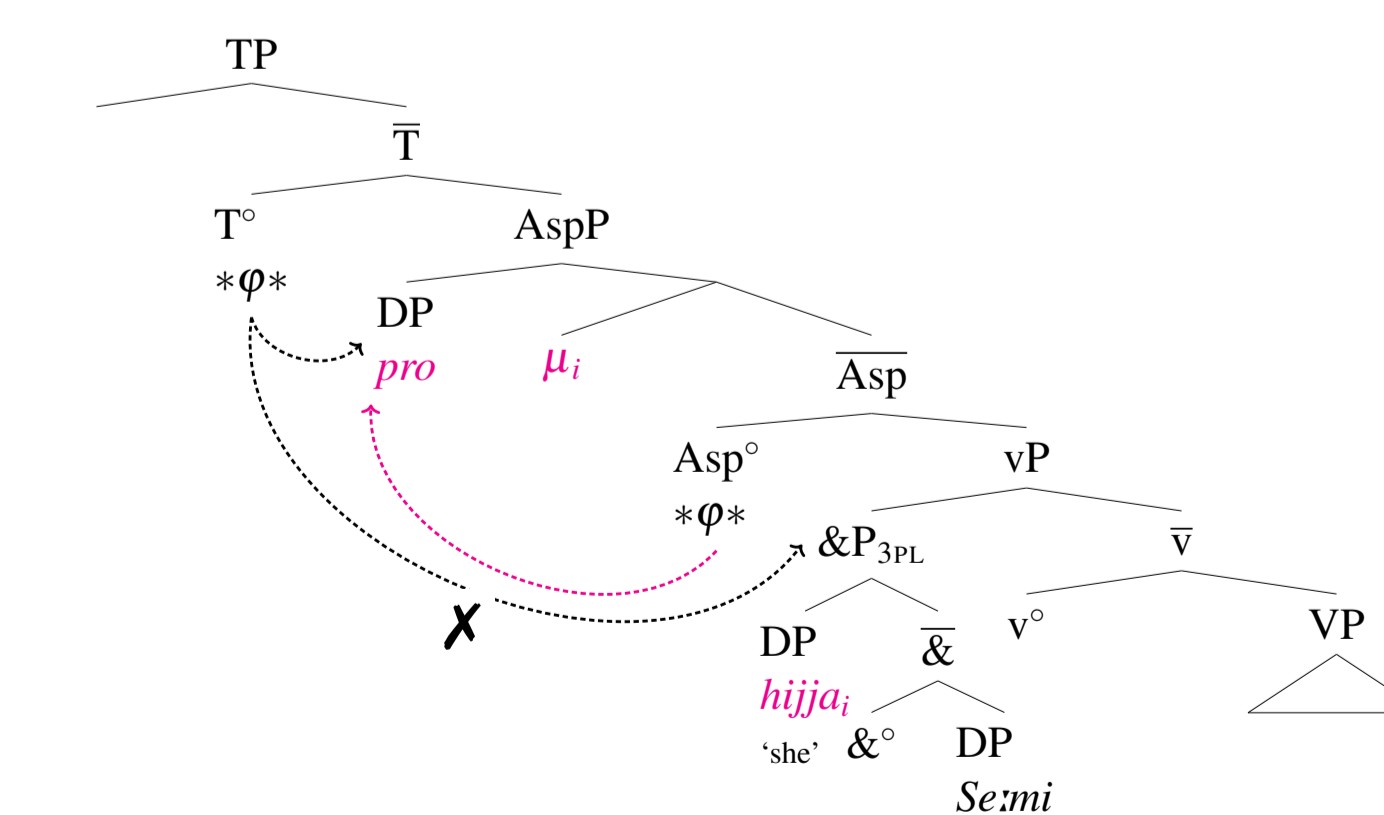
Broad Subject merged in [Spec, TP]

- (19) One agreement target
ʔe:t hijja w-Se:mi
came.3FSG she and-S.
She and Sami came...
(20) Two mismatching agreement targets
ke:nət hijja w-Se:mi iʔi:w
was.3FSG she and-S. come.3PL
She and Sami used to come...



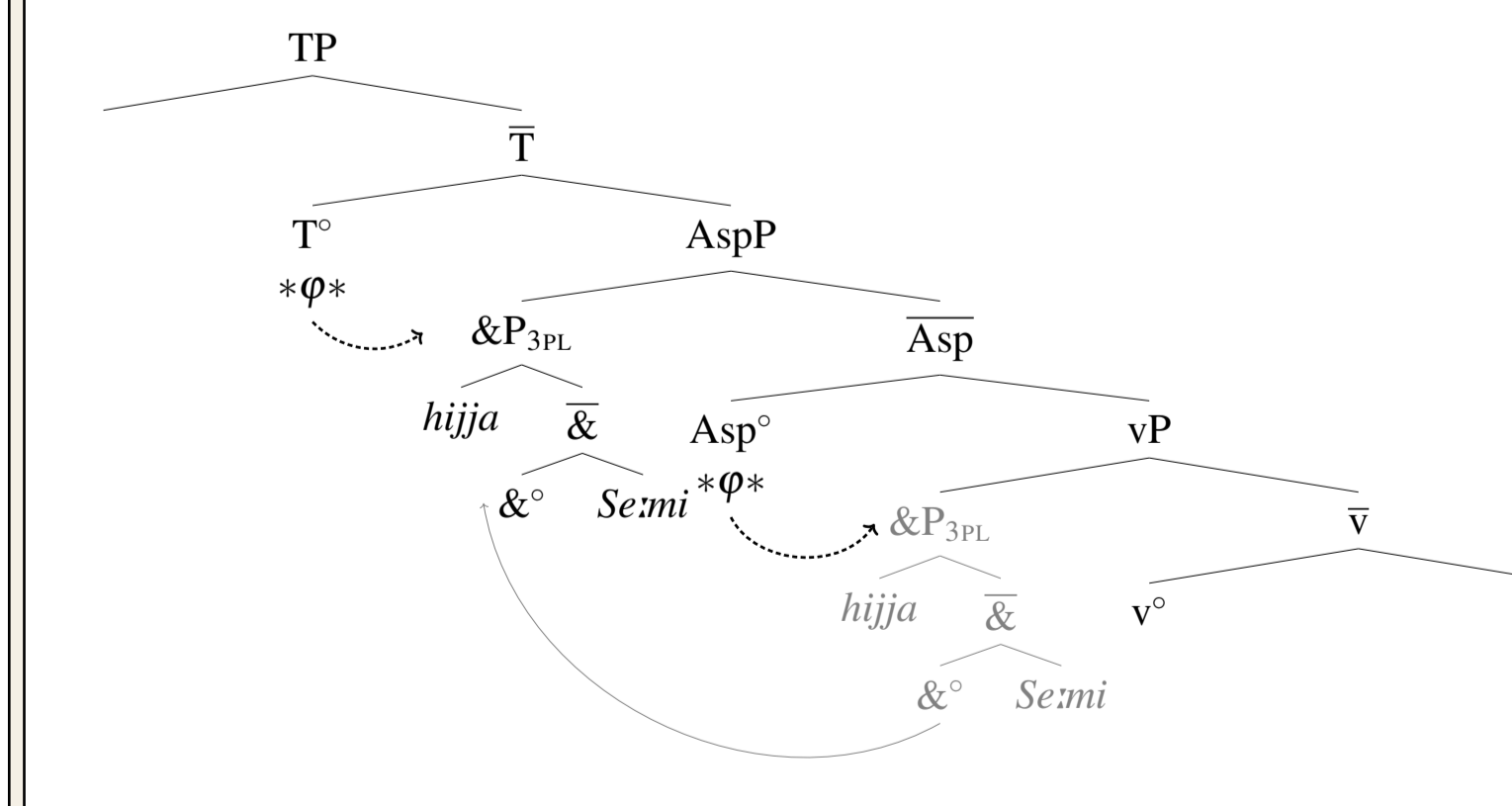
Broad Subject merged in [Spec, AspP]

- (21) Two matching targets agreeing with broad subject
{ke:nət / *ke:nu} tʔi: hijja w-Se:mi
{was.3FSG / *were.3PL} come.3FSG she and-S.
She and Sami used to come...



No Broad Subject

- (22) Two matching targets agreeing with narrow subject
ke:nu hijja w-Se:mi iʔi:w
were.3PL she and-S. come.3PL
She and Sami used to come...



Contributions

- ✓ Empirical contribution to the landscape of FCA patterns.
- ✓ Support for the existence of Broad Subjects in Arabic as distinct from CLLD (cf. A-resumption: Rezac 2008; Hewett 2023b).
- ✓ Consistent analysis for conjunct agreement with calculus at &P level being the same: Peculiarity of pronouns captured by their ability to be variables.
- ✓ A novel analysis of Broad Subjects in Arabic via binding.

Acknowledgements

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